THE WOMAN'S

# DREADNOUGHT

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## WAR FEVER—CHILD WAGE-SLAVES IN AMERICA

War fever appears to have taken a firm hold on the American public and the Suffragist women have proved by no means immune. Some few months ago the "Woman's Journal," founded by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell in 1870, amalgamated with the "Woman Voter," founded in 1910, and the newer "Headquarters' Newsletter," and came out with a flourish as the "National Suffrage News." Though equal Suffrage is still to win in more than half the States, the changing of the "National Suffrage News" to "The Woman Citizen" might have been thought merely a wise anticipation of the final victory which would but hearten the struggle. But something more than the name was changed in the Suffrage organ! The central feature of "Woman Citizen's" first number was an article entitled "Keeping up with the Plough," elaborately illustrated by photographs and drawings of "farmerette" suits, "service uniforms," "womanalls," which are overalls for women, and which are described as "chic and practicable." We are told that "Suffrage Schools of Agriculture are already in operation. Suffrage War gardens have been planted. Suffrage canning centres are projected. A suffragist Chairman of Agriculture has been appointed in every State in the Union, "Chairmen of Potatoes" being the title in which they rejoice. "Let your slogan be suffrage and service . . . . Help to take the State services . . . Hundreds of women have volunteered," runs an advertisement. About it all there is a gay zestful frivolity, an entire forgetfulness of the fact that this thing which has opened up so many opportunities of exciting importance for women is a business of wholesale murder in which thousands of men are killed or maimed day by day, and nations are engaged in the deliberate effort to starve entire populations. Gentle compassion and loving kindness are old-fashioned virtues perhaps, but it is these qualities which have been the motive power which has civilised the human race: we must not discard them now. The sensational press has hidden from the women who enroll for war service their true position. "Great for girls" is the inscription under the photograph of a bonny smiling maiden in knickerbocker overalls and sunbonnet, with a spade over her shoulder. The girl would scream with horror could she realise to the full that the dead body of the man whose work she intends to replace will soon perhaps be food for carrion. Could she but realise it, it is as though her spade and her "chic womanalls" were besmeared with blood.

In the second number of the "Woman Citizen," it appears that some sense of the sordid forces behind the hysterical War fever which is dominating the nation, has begun to filter into the minds of some of those responsible for the policy of the paper. On the cover is a cartoon representing a woman guarding a group of children with the sword of child labour laws, from the outstretched hands of the exploiters, one of whom flourishes a "Repeal." Bill. It is stated that already some towns are organising their school children into working squads and that officials in the States of Maine, Minnesota, Massachusettes, and North Dakota have announced that the Governor or Public Safety Commission has power to suspend the laws in time of War. New Jersey officials have decided to "encourage" child employment in agriculture, the Governor and Board of Education in Pennsylvania have urged that it is desirable to excuse children from school for agricultural work. In New York the Brown War Emergency Acts give the State Industrial Commission power to suspend the Labour Laws and the Commissioner of Education power to suspend the compulsory education law from April 1st to November 1st. Vermont has passed an Act giving the Commissioner of Industries power to suspend the laws limiting the working hours of women and children. Connecticut and New Hampshire and other States have adopted similar legislation.

**Of Special Interest This Week!**

IS THE WAR ONLY BEGINNING?

PEACE CRUSADE IN SCOTLAND

A Five-year Old Shrimp Picker

Little Cotton Operatives

## THE BABY WEEK EXHIBITION AT CENTRAL HALL

As we approached the Central Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 2nd, someone ran up and said: "The Queen is just arriving, you will see her if you hurry." We did not see the Queen, but we found groups of working-class mothers with babies in their arms crowding about the doors and asking to be let in. "The public not admitted till 4 o'clock," was the stern reply made alike by policemen commissionaires and lady officials in khaki. The mothers were tired with carrying babies, they had journeyed many miles at the bidding of infant welfare instructors who had told them to be there at this hour, and not to be late, as the Queen would take some of the babies in her arms and their babies must not be deprived of such an opportunity.

There were all sorts of important official people, but very few who would lend anyone a helping hand, so we felt it our duty to join in a little portering on behalf of nurses and teachers who were struggling to get their apparatus into the building. What a tremendous crush there was when the Exhibition opened! There were masses of stalls and exhibits with only a narrow passageway between them and throngs of people squeezing their way through. Of course, there were all sorts of fine ladies and would-be fine ladies and superior persons, because the Queen was opening the show and baby welfare is one of the latest crazes, but there was also a surprising number of working-class mothers and their infants. In her efforts to get a glimpse of the Queen, who was just leaving, one of the superior persons pushed us with a patronising "mind mother": then drew back, saying, "I beg your pardon," on seeing that she had made a mistake.

At a stall on which were displayed the foods that "baby" should and should not have was a notice, "Do not cover milk with muslin; it catches the dirt and lets the dust and germs go through: cardboard, china, or glass are better." "At our School for Mothers we are taught to cover the milk with muslin," said a working-class mother. Her friend said: "We know all about that," and pointed to a glass of water with a label "baby needs a sip of water." Many mothers were eagerly discussing the contents of this stall, and in listening to them one realised that in spite of all the purse-proud patronage and snobbery which has been displayed in connection with them, the maternity and infant welfare centres are proving a very great boon to numbers of women.

Opposite was a temperance stall, where great notices declared that a drinking father transmits the effects of alcohol to the third and fourth generation, and that the drinking mother "is responsible for the degeneration of her offspring both before and after its birth." Mustard and cress plants, some sprinkled with water, some with alcohol were displayed at this stall, the alcoholic plants were least flourishing: someone asked what the effect would have been had the plants been watered with gravy or milk, but the stall-holders could not tell.

The fact that the mass of the people are disinherited wage slaves was not referred to amongst the causes of infant mortality and disease which were dealt with in the exhibition. We regretted to learn that Hampshire House Workshops, which were showing a six-guinea cot, pay girls a commencing wage of 2s. 6d. a week.

The noise of screaming children was painful, babies in cradles in the various exhibits, babies carried about in mothers' arms, babies set in a row for pressmen to take flashlight snapshots. Poor infants, the airless crush and the noise of perpetual talking was more than they could bear without protest!

But upstairs, tucked away at one side of the big lecture hall was a peaceful and well-ordered spot where ten little toddlers from the "Mothers' Arms," aged from two to four years, were working at Montessori with a calm serenity which most of their elders failed to achieve. Miss Muriel Matters, their able instructress, had told the children that they had come to have school at the Central Hall for a change, and quite contented and entirely oblivious of the fussy people round them, they busied themselves with their work. When the children first arrived there was an argument between "Dipple," aged two and Johnnie aged three and a half as to whether the Victoria House Car, which had been kindly placed at their disposal, was a taxi or a motor, "Dipple" being quite sure that it was a motor. The argument was forgotten in the eager business of getting to work on the apparatus, but started again and joined in by the other children when the time came for putting on coats to go home at the end of the day.

The Montessori exhibit and Margaret Morris's children were undoubtedly the two things worth seeing in the exhibition, but the mass of people did not discover them until the second day, when notices indicating the Montessori schools' location resulted in a great crowd of visitors.

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# THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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## IS THE WAR ONLY BEGINNING?

Lord Northcliffe is telling America that the War is only beginning, and indeed there are all too many signs that the Governments are preparing to carry on the War for a long time to come. Certainly the War grows more and more terrible, more costly in human life, and in material treasure—the result of human labour. And now "The New York Times," perhaps inspired by Lord Northcliffe, that man of reckless, ruthless advertisement, is urging that the situation would justify America in refusing to export either grain or any other commodity to the neutral nations under any conditions whatsoever. If the Allied Governments adopt this policy the neutral nations must either subsist on their home products alone, or be forced into the war. In either event, great suffering will fall upon the peoples. Will the War-mongers never rest content until every nation has been dragged into the War?

The "Daily Chronicle's" Petrograd correspondent refers to the feud which is being fought out in Russia between the extreme anti-War Socialists, the Leninites, on the one hand; and the extreme jingoes, Miliukoff and his supporters on the other. In the long run, it is these two elements present under various titles in every nation, which will decide the international struggle, for there are no half-measures in War, and the moderate people who shrink from taking a definite stand on anything are carried along by that force of circumstances, and from more or less efficient units in the ranks on one side or the other, whether they will or no. Thus those of the Russian Socialists who desire a peace, but cannot bring themselves to break with the Allied Governments, are bolstering up the annexation policy of Miliukoff, whom they have driven from office in Russia, but whose policy is that of the capitalist Governments of Britain, France, Italy, and America. It is reported that the Russian soldiers, who proclaimed the brotherhood of man in the trenches, were induced to take up the offensive again on July 1st. Kerensky is said to have presented the soldiers with red flags, but black would have been a more suitable colour. The truce of the Russian soldiers was one of those things that might have ended the War, but the peoples of the other nations were not ready, and now the War seems to have taken a new lease of life. Undoubtedly the Austrian Government was making efforts to secure Peace, but it has drawn back. Herr Scheidemann, of the German Socialist majority wisely has said: "from Stockholm and the Socialists is now expected what, alas! was vainly expected from the Governments—namely, Peace." Is Scheidemann yet determined to sever all conversations with the German Government, and to take his stand with the Internationalists, voting against all War Credits?

### LLOYD GEORGE'S GLASGOW SPEECH.

There was no suggestion of Peace in Mr. Lloyd George's speech in Glasgow last Friday. He paid the usual tributes to free Russia and her Revolution, whilst naively admitting that the Government of which he was a member, took us into the War in support of old Russia, "the most reactionary autocracy in the world." In his usual lip service to democracy, he said that a better guarantee of peace than the destruction of Prussian militarism would have been the democratisation of the German Government, but he went on to deny the Peace terms of the Russian democracy, which he put forward as those of the German Government.

He refused to agree to "no indemnities," declaring that "indemnity is an essential part of the mechanism of civilisation." He refused to agree to "no annexations," saying that Mesopotamia and Armenia are not Turkish, and that their fate, with those of the German colonies, must be left to the Peace Conference, where, according to immemorial custom, the Powers which have secured a Victory Peace will claim them. "Britannia will rule the waves through the War and after the War," said Mr. Lloyd George, if the land be added, the phrase fairly sums up the tenor of his speech. He finished, however, with a peroration suitable for a conscientious objector, which, perhaps, had been prepared for him by one of his secretaries possessed of secret sympathies in that direction:—

The answer of the old dying Covenanter Cargill rings down the ages, even to us at this fateful hour: "satisfy" your conscience and go forward! Now we are faced with the greatest and grimmest struggle of all—liberty, equality, fraternity, not amongst men, but amongst nations. . . . My appeal to the people of this country, and if my appeal can reach beyond it, is this: that we shall continue to fight for the great goal of international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice, nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of right.

All this high-sounding stuff is, of course, merely an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the people. But it succeeded only too thoroughly at the beginning of the War, and though its effect is now beginning to wear off, there is still much educational work to be done before the complete awakening comes.

### THE U.D.C. PROGRAMME.

The U.D.C. has just published suggestions for terms of a Peace settlement, which should be carefully examined, and which include the following points:—

The complete re-establishment of the sovereign independence and integrity and the economic restoration of Belgium must be absolutely secured.

Restoration by whom? we ask, since the U.D.C. has itself published literature to prove that there is a good case for saying that the Belgian Government had abandoned its neutrality, and secretly joining the Allies, had prepared itself to aid them in the War against Germany. The Russian resolve to exact no indemnities is, in our view, the wisest.

The invaded districts of France must be evacuated. Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania must be evacuated and their independence restored.

The disposition of Alsace and Lorraine and the claims of Italy to Trentino or other unredeemed districts should be decided on the principle of the right of the population to control its own destiny by a plebiscite or otherwise, under the supervision of an impartial International Commission and free from the interference of occupying armies. Poland should be free and independent. The populations of Austrian Poland and the Polish districts of Prussia should decide whether they wish to become part of Poland.

It seems to us that this principle should apply to all the subject nations where there is a movement, either for complete independence, or autonomy within one of the great Empires. We think that the peoples of Ireland, India and Finland are as much entitled to this opportunity of deciding their destiny as any of those enumerated. But the U.D.C. lays it down that the Finns and Irish, with the nationalities comtained within the Austrian Empire, can obtain the freedom they desire by self-government within the Empire which controls them. What is to happen if the peoples say it cannot? Polish claims on Dantzig, Bulgaria's claim on Macedonia, Roumania's claim on Transylvania, and the future status of Persia the U.D.C. wishes to refer to an "International Commission appointed with the co-operation and authority of the nations of Europe." The Union further urges that "international control over the Ottoman Empire should be maintained and extended so as to provide full security for the Christian peoples and freedom of development for other races under the suzerainty of the Sultan." India and Egypt, be it noted, are not mentioned. We are firmly convinced that war is not the method by which such questions should be settled, and that the War should not be kept going for a single day on account of any of them; but at the same time the way to settle all disputed problems of nationality is to allow the people to determine their own destiny. The U.D.C. further suggests the internationalisation of Constantinople and the Straits. We would not prolong the War to achieve this, but no doubt the internationalisation of all the narrow seas is desirable, and we urge that Great Britain should set an example by offering to internationalise all the straits of which she is mistress. We would point out to the U.D.C. that wars have been fought to prevent lesser losses than this of Constantinople and the Straits to Turkey. Obviously, the proposed internationalisation cannot be accomplished without a "knock-out blow" unless something be offered in exchange.

Of the German colonies the U.D.C. says:

Great Britain should repudiate definitely any claim to annex German colonies by right of conquest. That, however, does not imply the return to the *status quo ante bellum*.

We, however, think that the *status quo ante bellum* should be restored, unless there is to be a general re-arrangement of African colonies. When that takes place it should be in the interest of the natives, whose possible desires are not mentioned in the programme.

The U.D.C. says: "Germany is not less entitled than other Great Powers to organise and develop overseas Dependencies." In our view no Great Power is entitled to do this, and we are of opinion that until the Europeans visit Africa only as guests, as foreigners visit European countries, Africa will remain a source of European trouble. The U.D.C. further urges the establishment of a League of Nations

with a common undertaking to submit disputes to arbitration and to form an international Council or Parliament for dealing with international problems as they become critical.

Free Trade and the Open Door in dependencies and the disappearance of secret diplomacy are the next points:

Secret treaties should be prohibited by international agreement, and should be regarded as void. All treaties should be sanctioned by the National Parliaments and subject to periodical revision.

The largest measure of agreement for the reduction of armaments on land and sea should be obtained at the settlement. A method might be adopted by means of international inspection of armament establishments, for controlling the execution of any agreement for immediate reduction which may be reached by the settlement. Nations should agree to abolish private enterprise in the production of armaments.

The freedom of the seas is also urged.

All these things are sensible enough, but there is no mention of the root cause of War, which is capitalism; nor of the only certain safeguard against War, which is the common ownership of the land, the sea, and the sky, and the product of human labour.

### MR. BONAR LAW'S REVELATIONS.

How tremendous a part Capitalism plays in War was revealed by Mr. Bonar Law in the debate on the Finance Bill. He said that he invested £8,110 in 15 different shipping companies under the management of seven different owners. Five per cent. interest on that sum, which in ordinary times he should have been glad to get, would be £405. For the year 1915, instead of £405 he received £3,624; for the year 1916 he received £3,847. That did not end the matter. Prudent managing shipowners did not divide all the profits. There was something to come to him later. One of these steamers had either been sold or sunk, he did not know which. Either way she had been turned into money for himself. In that ship he had £200, and after the very handsome dividend which he received, on liquidation he received a cheque for a little over £1,000. That was not his only experience. There was another shipping company in which he invested £350. The other day he received a letter from the managing owners of that company saying that because the cost of building was so high and was likely to continue high, it was not probable they would wish to invest the money in ships for a long time to come; therefore they were going to make a division of the surplus capital. For that £350 capital on this division he received a cheque for £1,050.

All this, said Mr. Bonar Law, was the fault of the Government. He is right: and the Government allowed this iniquitous thing to go on because one of its members was closely connected with one of the greatest shipping firms, and all the members of the Government were closely connected with some form of profiteering or other.

Mr. Bonar Law says that that excessive profiteering by shippers is to stop, and Lord Rhondda, as Food Controller, also announces that he will take drastic measures to control prices.

Let the workers be warned in time: these measures really mean that the profiteers are preparing to carry on the War for a long while yet, and that they fear if they do not relax the pressure which profiteering is bringing upon the people, the people will revolt. So they are willing to relax a little to keep going the War, which is the biggest of all profiteering schemes. At Dundee Mr. Lloyd George said: "The Government will even go to the extent of resorting to the Exchequer in order to see that at any rate the price of bread is within the compass of the bulk of the people." This policy was adopted some time ago in France, where the Government subsidises the loaf in order that its price may rise no further. But for the Government to pay part of the price of a commodity in order that poor people may be able to buy it, is not the best method of dealing with the problem, except from the standpoint of the merchant, because the consuming public have to pay the Government subsidy in the form of taxation. Though it is true that the poorest sections of the people are somewhat relieved thereby, as the taxation is spread over the whole community and is graduated with the object of making the rich pay higher taxes than the poor, the workers are eventually made to pay the tax. The Government is hurrying through a Corn Bill by which the Government will subsidise the farmer should the price of grain fall during the War—here again the workers will pay the tax.

The Jingoes are fond of saying that we want Peace at any price: have we not paid enough for it yet?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

# QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

## HUNGARIAN WOMEN'S STRAIGHT LEAD.

Just as the Hungarian women's organisations are standing firm for Adult Suffrage, we find them adopting a similar direct attitude in regard to Peace. "Internationaal," the organ of the Central Bureau of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, publishes letters from a number of the national organisations affiliated to it. The Hungarian Association writes :—

We do not agree with you that no satisfactory international committee meeting could have been held, or will be possible to be held. In our opinion the success of such a meeting does not depend only on the possibility of getting together. Our international organisation ought to have given us an opportunity and an excuse to ask for passports. . . . Just as the demonstrations of suffragists who, in Great Britain for instance, knew they would not be received, but nevertheless made the attempt for the sake of demonstrating that their rights were of immense value for the whole suffrage movement, so the attempts to get passports for international meetings, even if unsuccessful, would help the idea of Internationalism during the War. We cannot see why you should decide to drop action in the question of Peace negotiations now. . . . We consider it a grave mistake, and urge you to issue your appeal to the belligerent Governments proposed by the Scandinavian Group. We hail the suggestion of Mme. Genoni (Italy), supported by the Swiss Group, to organise deputations to the Governments.—Sincerely yours, Feministák Egyesülete, Vilma Glücklich (President), Paula Pogány (Secretary).

## COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S PLANS.

Colonel Roosevelt, as usual, has been settling the destinies of various peoples and places. Russia, he says, is entitled to Constantinople, though Free Russia has announced that she does not desire it. Russia can also be trusted, he says, to be the sponsor of an autonomous Poland, Finland and Armenia, though Free Russia has offered Poland her freedom and has declared that she does not desire any acquisition of territory. Luxembourg, says Colonel Roosevelt, is to lose her freedom and be joined to France or Belgium : we suppose this is to punish Luxembourg for keeping out of the War. England and Japan, he says, are to keep the colonies they have conquered : does Roosevelt suggest that Japanese rule is so beneficent that the inhabitants of the conquered territories prefer it to any other—even to self-government? Roosevelt has many plans also for the Southern Slavs, Magyars, Rumans, and others.

## TO PETROGRAD.

The following letter sent from the Foreign Office to Mr. Havelock Wilson on June 20th is a remarkable document which should not be forgotten :—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to state that he has received from his Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Petrograd a telegram containing a message to you from Mr. A. Henderson, of which the following is the text :—

"Strongly urge removal of embargo against MacDonald on his giving undertaking which your organisation desires and *on promising when here to act consistently with decisions of Manchester Conference of Labour Party*. Presence of deputation urgently requested by Soldiers' and Workmen's Committee, and refusal at this stage is likely to create difficulties for Government here."

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, W. LANGLEY.

It is extraordinary that either Mr. Henderson or the Government should imagine that Mr. MacDonald would be willing to go to Petrograd to represent a policy to which he is personally opposed and to which the party which he represents is opposed. We are confident that neither Mr. MacDonald nor any other I.L.P. delegate would go to Petrograd on such terms.

At the request of the W.S.F. National Executive Committee, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst applied for a passport to Petrograd. She received the following reply.

Madam,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant regarding your desire to proceed to Russia as a representative of the Workers' Suffrage Federation, and to express his regret that your application cannot be granted.—I am, Madam, your most obedient humble servant, W. Langley.

## RUSSIAN POLICY.

A Russian Socialist, who has lately arrived in this country, comments on our leader, which appeared under the title of "Russia Awaits an Answer," in our issue last week. He agrees in the main with our statement of the position, but asks us to say that Russian Socialists like himself who are averse to Russia entering into a separate peace, adopt this attitude because they believe that it is not in the interests of the people of Europe in general that Russia should do so. They recognise the possibility of the present Allies making war upon Russia should she make peace with Germany, and they see especially the possibility of an invasion by Japan, but these considerations do not influence their policy, which is dictated by their view of the general European welfare.

Our correspondent does not deal with the question as to what is to happen if the Governments of France, England, Italy and America persist in their refusal to adopt the Russian policy of no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny. If Russia's present Allies persist in carrying on the War with Capitalist and Imperialist objects, and if Russia continues fighting to support the Allies till these objects are achieved, it seems to us that, in effect, Free Russia will abandon her own policy and will substitute for it the policy of the capitalists who control the Allied Governments. This, of course, is precisely what the Capitalists desire. If Russia were to make Peace now, before America is prepared to do the work which is expected of Russia, there is hope that the Allies might decide to make the Peace a general one. If Russia should unfortunately remain subservient until her aid becomes less vital to the Allies, her influence in forcing a general Peace upon Europe would deminish correspondingly.

## L.C.C. ECONOMIES AT KITCHEN-MAIDS' EXPENSE.

Before the War the kitchenmaids at the L.C.C. Cookery and Laundry Centres, who were on full time, were allowed 32 hours for cleaning, and were paid 14s. per week. Those who were not on full time were paid 5d. per hour. The school washing (dusters and towels) was done by Spiers and Ponds. In April, 1915, a War bonus of ¾d. per hour, which was afterwards raised to 1d. per hour, was granted, but the maids were given six dozen school and centre articles to wash. The hours allowed were reduced from 32 to 27, and the school children were supposed to do the five hours' work left by the maid. In most cases the children did not do it, and the maids had to do unpaid overtime to get the washing done. In this way the L.C.C. saved £1,000 in 1916. Now washing machines have been installed at some of the centres and the maids are expected to wash ten dozen articles at 2½d. per dozen. It is impossible to do the work in the time allowed. The machines are very heavy ; the washing is first put in them, then wrung out, boiled, put in again, wrung out, mangled, and hung up to dry. The dusters and towels are very dirty. but only 28lbs. of soda and ¼cwt. of soap flakes are to be allowed for each centre per year.

## EXTERMINATING THE MEN.

When before the Select Committee appointed to investigate the Review of Exceptions Act, General Geddes said that the recruiting machine is in process of perfection, and that he hoped by the end of this year it might be complete. This means, we suppose, that practically every man of military age out of hospital will be under military orders. If the militarists have their way, a complete generation of men will be exterminated.

## COAL TO COST MORE.

It is reported that at Cardiff the new Order of the Coal Controller raised the prices by from 2s. to 4s. 6d. per ton in the case of large coal, and by 7s. to 12s. in the price of smalls. We want Controllers to reduce and not increase prices!

## THE REMOVAL OF THE GRILLE.

A Supplementary Estimate for £5 has just been issued "for the removal of the grille in the Ladies' Gallery at the House of Commons." On this estimate the House will shortly decide by a free vote whether the grille shall be retained or abolished.

## PENAL REFORM.

At a Conference summoned by the Penal Reform League, and attended by the representatives of a number of Societies and Institutions interested in the subjects, on Friday, June 15th, in Caxton Hall, Westminster, the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) This Conference advocates the repeal of all laws regarding "solicitation" and reliance on the law against what is commonly understood as molestation or annoyance.

(2) That places of Reception and Detention, quite apart from prisons and police stations, be used for all arrested persons before conviction; that offenders between 16 and 21 should not be imprisoned, but, if not discharged or released on their own recognisances, should be placed on probation; that advantage should be taken of the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, to extend the use of probation and widen the range of its conditions so as to include sojourn in institutions and colonies, where endeavours to attain to a free and homely atmosphere, variety of occupational training, and discipline based on individual and collective responsibility would be encouraged.

## NOT IN BELGIUM.

Gunner Alfred Colson, 52, of the anti-aircraft service, was charged before the Newcastle magistrates on June 22nd with having indecently assaulted a seven-years-old girl in a field at Walker on Tuesday afternoon, June 12th. Accused denied having interfered with the girl. The Bench, however, found him guilty, and, in view of his good military record, he was leniently dealt with. Sentence of one month's imprisonment with hard labour was passed. —"Newcastle Chronicle."

# WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL

The Provisional Committee appointed at the Leeds Conference announces the constitution of Local Councils. They should be so constituted that they cover the whole of the Local Trade Union, Labour, Socialist, Co-operative, W.S.F. and other Democratic organisations. The Trades Council, where sympathetic, should take the initiative in the formation of such Councils. Delegates from every working-class organisation should attend its meetings. Workshop Committees and Committees of Shop Stewards, it is suggested, should also send representatives. There must be no desire on the part of the Local Councils to encroach upon or supersede organisations already established. All friction must be avoided, a broad spirit of toleration encouraged, and overlapping must be eliminated as far as possible. Arrangements are well in hand for the holding of the District Conferences.

### The London Conference.

The London Conference will be held on the afternoon of Saturday, July 28th, at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Road, E.C. A preliminary Conference of active helpers will be held at Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, next Saturday, July 7th, at three o'clock. All inquiries concerning the London Conference should be addressed to the Secretary, Workers' and Soldiers' Council, 4 Duke Street, Adelphi, W.C.2.

### The Scottish Conference.

The Provisional Committee has decided upon holding an *All-Scotland Conference*, instead of two District Conferences, as stated in the circular already sent out. This Conference will undoubtedly prove the biggest Conference ever held in Scotland. It will be arranged under the auspices of the Glasgow Trades Council and the Glasgow Labour Party. The acting Local Secretary is Wm. Shaw, 172 Buchanan Street, Glasgow. The date of the Conference is Saturday, August 4th. It will be held at Glasgow.

### The West Wales Conference.

The West Wales District Conference will be arranged under the auspices of the Swansea Labour Association. The Local Acting Secretary is J. G. Davies, 50 Terrace Road, Swansea. The Conference will take place on Saturday, July 28th, at the Central Hall, Swansea. It will be held in the afternoon, commencing at 3.30 p.m.

### The East Anglia District Conference.

The East Anglia District Conference will be arranged under the auspices of the Norwich Trades Council. The Local Acting Secretary is G. F. Hipperson, 91 Connaught Road, Norwich. The Conference will take place on Saturday, July 28th, at the School of Music, Rampant Horse Street, Norwich.

Further particulars concerning these Conferences and the other District Conferences will be given next week.

Applications for credentials and delegates' fees (2s. 6d. per delegate) should be sent to the Local Acting Secretaries.

All Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Guilds, branches of Socialist organisations, Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, W.S.F. branches, and branches of Democratic organisations are entitled in addition to national bodies to send delegates. Trades Councils are urged to devise ways and means, either by circular or special delegation, of acquainting their affiliated branches with the importance of the Conferences and the necessity of immediate action.

Already several local Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have been formed.

From the mass of correspondence which has reached the office there is every indication of a tremendous uprising of the democracy. From all parts of the country come tidings of an awakened concern and enthusiasm on the part of the workers for their own economic, social, and political interests. The desire for a peoples' peace, without annexations or indemnities, is everywhere demanding expression. The Conferences, demonstrations, and meetings arranged under the auspices of the local or national Workers' and Soldiers' Councils will do much to arouse the people to the necessity for immediate, strong, clear, and definite action in defence of their liberties. The active support of every individual worker was never so necessary as it is *now*. *Now* is the time to agitate, to educate, and to organise. The *future* of the democracy depends upon what is done *now*.

Tom Quelch,
for the
Provisional Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

Reports of the great Leeds Convention (price 3d., postage 1d.) can be obtained at the office of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, 4 Duke Street, Adelphi, W.C.2.

# THE PEACE CRUSADE IN SCOTLAND

By T. S. P.

The Women's Peace Crusade which came to birth in Glasgow has become strong and valiant, and, above all, now thrills and trembles with the thought of success. The banner of the Crusade is being thrown out in an ever-widening circle by standard bearers in whose breasts pulses that love which is at one with the women of all the world. A year ago, when the banner was first unfurled, the women seemed to be beating against an immovable rock, formed, one thought, of the stony hearts of the people. But they held on; and to-day they seem to hear the faint beating of the wings of the Angel of Peace. Their doubt and fear is gone, and the dawn is breaking.

Accustomed in days not yet far behind to be hooted and jeered, it is a sweet and blessed experience to see an audience stand silent and eager for the message. The tables are turned, and it is the interrupter and not the speaker who runs the gauntlet of the people's disapproval. Morning, noon and night, the Crusaders north of the Tweed are fighting the battle, in the confidence that they are slowly and painfully moulding the opinion which yet shall stop the murderous mouths of the guns, and shall demand that the slaughter of our sons shall cease. At the head of the crusade in Scotland is Mrs. Helen Crawfurd, fearless, eloquent, tireless. One of her able lieutenants is Mrs. Agnes Dollan, whose husband is dying in Wormwood Scrubbs; and the amount of work they contrive to get through is almost beyond belief. In England the crusade has fired many hearts, and inquiries are reaching Scotland for methods and modes of procedure. But all that is required is a burning desire for peace, and the will to do. Granted these, the rest will follow. The appeal which Mrs. Crawfurd had in the Labour and Socialist Press has returned as the dove to the ark, bringing the emblem of peace. From all parts of the kingdom letters have come. Some sad and sorrowful, some defiant; some with the breath of Christianity, others claiming no Christianity but athrob with the love of humanity. "I cannot send you money," wrote one sister in Manchester; "I can send only my love and sympathy." "Never have I felt it right to pray for victory," confessed another, "but always most earnestly have I asked for peace." And from one dear old woman came this: "I am in my 79th year. May God bless you all, and give you all needed wisdom and strength and blessing." One might go on a very long time giving such extracts, but from one lady there came a letter, not of hatred because of the son whom the enemy killed, but of longing that peace may come, so that the hearts of other mothers might be spared. From all classes of society has come the message: "Go on!" From Tyrone: "All honour to the women of the North." And so say we all! Go on!

[But the women and men of the South must "go on," too. The Joint Peace Demonstration Committee is holding another demonstration on September 16th.]

## OUR GREAT PUSH

Fifteen of the 100 black and white Indicators required for advertising the DREADNOUGHT on railway bookstalls and outside newsvendors' shops have already been paid for by:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Edgar Lansbury ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. George Bernard Shaw ... ... ... | 2 |
| Mrs. Crosland Taylor ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mrs. Pethick Lawrence ... ... ... | 1 |
| Poplar Branch (W.S.F.), by proceeds of scent cards (will other branches note and copy?) ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mrs. C. E. Payne ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. Leakey ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. W. Carter (N.U.R.) ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. Israel Zangwill ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mrs. Mackenzie Kennedy ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Roden Buxton ... ... | 2 |
| Miss Muriel Lester ... ... ... ... | 1 |
| Mr. Durant ... ... ... ... ... | 1 |

Each Indicator costs 30s. Eighty-five more are required. Who will pay for the next?

### *BENEDICTION.*

*Bless this little heart, this white soul that has won the kiss of heaven for our earth.*

*He loves the light of the sun, he loves the sight of his mother's face.*

*He has not learned to despise the dust, and to hanker after gold.*

*Clasp him to your heart and bless him.*

*He has come into this land of a hundred cross roads.*

*I know not how he chose you from the crowd, came to your door and grasped your hand to ask his way.*

*He will follow you, laughing and talking, and not a doubt in his heart.*

*Keep his trust, lead him straight, and bless him. . . . .*

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

# WHY WOMEN HAVE BEEN GIVEN VOTES

As a lifelong advocate of woman suffrage, who advocated the equality of the sexes at a time when it was still the fad of a few anæmic intellectuals, I have been almost as much amused as pleased by the recent converts to this measure.

We used to be told *ad nauseam* that women brought men into the world, that they were the bringers of life, the representatives of the continuity of the race, and so on. Such arguments made no appeal whatever. Men continued to reply, like the French aristocrat, "*Je me suis donné la peine de naître*"—getting born was due to their own merit, and was a kindness on their part towards the community. And women's appeal to their gratitude fell on deaf ears.

But now we are told on all hands that women have proved their fitness for the vote by their devotion to war-work. Instead of bringing men into the world, they have devoted themselves to burying men out of it. This we all feel is a truly noble task. The women of Europe engaged in making high explosives with a view to turning the husbands and sons of other women into mangled corpses are a spectacle calculated to inspire reverent awe.

There is another motive which has weighed with recent converts. Conscription, strange to say, is less popular among its victims than among those who are exempt. Men over military age and clergymen have shown, as all must admit, a much finer spirit of patriotism in all that they have said and written on the war than has been shown by the young men who have done the fighting. A leading German pacifist organ is called "Spartacus," after the leader of the gladiators' revolt in Rome. It is calculated by those who have our country's highest interests most at heart that, if our modern gladiators are to be kept to their work for the ten or twenty years that may be required for complete military victory, as large a proportion as possible of the electorate must be composed of those who witness the spectacle, not of those who provide it. From this point of view it is hoped that the admission of women may prove useful.

I am not at all sure that those who have been convinced by this argument are wise. I have met women in whom affection for sons and husbands and brothers was stronger than desire for separation allowances, and such women, it is to be feared, may prove disappointing. Perhaps their number is greater than patriots suppose. It is not yet too late: there is still, thank Heaven, the House of Lords. We may look to them to remedy the hasty action of the House of Commons if there is any serious reason to fear that women may prefer the saving of life to the manufacture of universal death.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

# HEARD ON THE 'BUS

Middle-aged Workman: "You're only just like a pawn in the mix-up."

Australian Soldier (red-faced, and has been drinking): "Oh, no, I'm not!"

Workman: "Oh, yes, you are, my dear boy. You've got no voice in it at all. You are just moved this way and that, as they please."

Australian Soldier: "Look here, I've been out there and I know all about it. If a man said something beastly to your wife, wouldn't you crack him? If a man struck you, wouldn't you go for him? Yes, and we're bloody well going for 'em till we've finished 'em!"

Workman: "You're a working man?"

Australian Soldier: "Yes, I'm a working man. I'm a sapper."

Workman: "Well, how many representatives of your class, how many Labour men, have had any voice in this business?"

Australian Soldier: "Why, I'm there; I'm a Labour man. There's a difference between Labour and Socialist, mind you!"

Workman: "You've got no voice in it; the people's got no voice in it. It's Rothschild and people like that who decide. If they wanted it to end to-morrow the bloody thing would end?"

Second Workman, with dreary voice: "Look at the price you've got to pay now for half a pint of beer!"

Australian Soldier: "What about us—we chaps out there? We've got to be asked!"

First Workman: "No, no; they decide. They control your destinies, my boy. You haven't any power. Could you go to your officer and say, 'Look here, we want better clothes, and we want better pay, and——'"

Fat man, in a straw hat, standing up and shaking his fist at First Workman: "You pig, you! You swine! To come here talking to a man who's been out protecting you!"

First Workman: "I don't want anyone to protect me."

Second Workman (in dreary, soothing voice): "We don' know nothing about it. No, we don't know nothing."

First Workman (quietly, to soldier): "Where do you draw your pay from?"

Australian Soldier (excited): "Where do I draw my pay from? Don't I earn it?"

Fat Man: "Don't he earn it, you swine—you—you swine!"

First Workman: "Don't a peaceful man earn it?"

Fat Man: "Peace? We don't want no peace. You swine—you—you German!"

Australian Soldier: "Why shouldn't I draw my pay from the people?"

Workman: "You're in one of the most unproductive—— I don't want to say anything against you personally, but the outcome of what you're doing is nothing good to start with, and you may be killing better men than yourself. It's not your fault, but you're out there for no good—you'll benefit no one."

Australian Soldier (jumping to his feet, waving his arms, and calling to sailor on front seat): "Here, Jack, twist a white flag! Ravage the wives and children! That's what this fellow wants."

Fat Man: "Killing seventeen children in a school the other day! You swine, killing the children!" He is speechless with rage.

Workman: "Who's killing the children?"

Fat Man: "The Germans are."

Workman: "No; Capitalism's killing them."

Australian Soldier (shouting): "Give 'em a little bit of grille—put 'em in Parkhurst! Lovely argument for the top of a 'bus! Kill all the women and children—he won't mind. Join the boy scouts!" (The 'bus overtakes and passes a band of scouts). "There you are! There's your chance! Get into it!"

Second Workman: "Never mind; the pubs 'll be open again to-morrow."

Fat Man (threatening to strike first workman): "You go to Germany!"

First Workman: "You go to the front!"

Fat Man: "I can't; I'm too fat."

Australian Soldier: "You'll get it taken off out there all right."

Fat Man (pretending not to hear): "Peace! We don't want peace. We're fighting for freedom. Fight on to victory!"

Australian Soldier (taking off his hat and showing a scar): "Look at my poor head. I didn't get that arguing here in London."

First Workman: "Wish you safe out of it."

Soldier: "Oh, all right. What about it?"

Workman: "You can't work out anything in that mix-up; the masses have got no control over it."

Soldier (confidentially): "Look here, wait till this thing's over. We chaps are going to come in and finish the business over here then. Christ! we'll be with you then, every time. We're a democratic race—only wait till after the victory!"

Workman (sadly): "I'm a very old bird. There's lots of things happened in this world, and there's been some big mistakes. They've shackled militarism——" (Stops short as though changing his mind.) "I might be a bit hot-headed. I've got two boys out there——"

Soldier (magnificently): "Leave that to us. After the war we're coming over here. I understand what you've had to put up with, and we chaps are coming over to straighten it out for you."

(Fat Man bends over to listen.)

Workman (eagerly): "Do you mean that after it's over you're coming over to fight the capitalists here?"

Soldier: "Yes, that's it; we're a democratic race—to us all men are equal——"

Fat Man: "And then Labour—Labour'll come into its own. Labour has proved itself, and nothing can stop it; but we must have the victory first."

First Workman hunches his shoulders and relapses into a grim silence.

# PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

June 26th.—Mr. Roberts stated that a conference of local authorities was held on June 21st to discuss improved distribution of coal, at which a resolution was passed "urging" the purchase, storage, and distribution of coal by the local authorities. The public has been "urging" these methods for a long time, we want the authorities to act!

MRS. BESANT.

Replying to Commander Wedgwood (L.), Mr. Chamberlain said that Mrs. Besant has been prohibited by the Madras Government from publishing and speaking in public. She has also been requested to reside within one of six specified areas. Mr. Chamberlain admitted that he had not been consulted, but that he approved of the action taken, because Mrs. Besant, by her agitation had endangered the peace in British India! The suppression of the Indian agitation for freedom will probably endanger the peace of India still more.

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A Select Committee was appointed to inquire into, "The method, conduct, and general administration of medical examinations under the Military Service Acts."

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June 27th.—Mr. Dillon (I.N.) asked for a "full and frank" discussion of Greece and the Salonika Expedition; but Mr. Balfour did not think it would be in the "public interest"!

FIELD PUNISHMENT.

Sir William Byles (L.) pointed out that a soldier aged sixteen has lately been confined to barracks for a month and given field punishment No. 1, which means being handcuffed and tied to a tree for two hours daily. He has already served one year with the colours, and his offence was overstaying his leave. Mr. Forster said he would call for a report.

CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH.

Mr. Bonar Law said he did not think anything would be "gained" by conscribing wealth. Assuredly not from his point of view; but surely he is not too dull of understanding to recognise the gain to the masses!

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Sir G. Cave explained, in reply to Mr. King (L.) that the reduction of £12,000 in the estimates for fees to surgeons did not mean that there were fewer accidents, but a reduction in the number of the certifying surgeons' reports on accidents. Why spare money at the cost of human life?

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June 28th.—In reply to Mr. King (L.), Mr. Balfour explained that the letter Lord Hardinge sent to the British Ambassador in Petrograd was taken possession of by a German submarine. It was Mr. Dillon (I.N.) who disclosed the contents of this letter to the House, and thus made known the uncomplimentary terms in which Lord Hardinge referred to the Roumanian Prime Minister and Mr. McKenna.

MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.

Dr. Addison gave a graphic description of the various activities of the Munitions Department. How the Ministry had put to use business men, men of science, minerals, and many great inventions for the success of that Department. The results are satisfactory from the producer's point of view. The use of national factories has enabled enormous savings to be made; as an example, when a certain T.N.T. factory was started the cost in the market was 1s. 9d. per pound, now it only costs the Government 8½d. Dr. Addison's speech filled one with the feeling that concentration and determination can accomplish anything; but how much better if destruction were not the aim! He spoke of the great advance in women's wages! Before the War the average rate for time-workers doing a 48-hour week was 12s. At present the lowest rate is 22s.; the average 25s. At the most we should like to point out that the 25s. average may mean 1s. a week increase owing to the enormous depreciation in the value of money. There is room for a still further advance. Meanwhile, sweated rates are paid by non-controlled firms! Mr. Montagu (L.) advocated the co-operation of the executive with the workers; Labour should be used for the control of Labour. A very good sentiment if carried out in the right spirit, not by favouring one type of worker to the disadvantage of others. Mr. Duncan (Lab.) could not restrain his admiration of the Ministry of Munitions for the standard of wages set for women. We fear he has not consulted the opinion of the women in his Union. Surely they feel with us that the "standard" is a very inadequate one!

THE END OF THE STATUTORY COMMITTEE.

June 29th. Mr. Barnes introduced a Bill to transfer the powers of the Statutory Committee to the Pensions Ministry, which will henceforth be responsible for the treatment and training of disabled men; separation allowances, in addition to its other functions. Certain cases may arise which cannot be treated by a warrant, and these are to be handed over to the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation. A grant of £250,000 is to be given it for this purpose besides what may be collected. To make this Corporation more popular Mr. Barnes stated that four new members would be added to the Executive, amongst whom would be one woman and two representatives of Labour! Does he think that on an executive of about 20 one woman is sufficient, when most of the cases will deal with the widows of deserters and others for whom the State makes no provision? Mr. Hogge (L.) greatly deprecated having anything to do with the Royal Patriotic Fund, because of the element of charity in it. We think, too, that charity should not be necessary for those who risk and give their lives for their country. The Bill was read a second time.

WANTON WASTE.

July 2nd.—The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food admitted that a considerable quantity of bacon had to be sold in one instance for manure, and in another for soap-making. Because of difficulties in transport, he said the bacon was bad when it came to London. Mr. Thomas maintained that it was held up in London to maintain the market price. We know that his statement bears out the general action of the food profiteers and gamblers.

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Mr. Trevelyan (L.) stated that Mrs. Skinner has been sent to prison for three months, Mrs. Hayes for one month and another woman fined for distributing leaflets for asking the Government to start negotiations to conclude the war. The Home Office pleaded ignorance of this. What a tyrannical Government we put up with. When will there be a general movement for the "democratisation" of Great Britain?

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Portuguese labourers have been imported as timber cutters. Mr. Hodge explained that not enough labour was forthcoming in this country, and that the Portuguese are particularly skilled. We hope they are being paid the same rates as Britishers.

FINANCE BILL.

On the Committee stage of the Finance Bill very interesting facts came to light as to the manner in which tea is bought and sold. Mr. Lough (L.) who wished the item "increased duty on tea" to be deleted, explained to the House that the Government was buying tea at Calcutta at 8¾d. per pound—it costs a penny to bring it here, which makes 9¾d. In the face of this a Government order has been issued that buyers must not give less than 1s. 4d. per pound in London. Mr. Lough obtained this information from the Report on War Contracts. He asked that the Government should let the people of this country have tea as cheaply as it can procure it for the Army. If the Exchequer is to be resorted to to procure cheap bread for the people, why should that same Exchequer be guilty of raising the price of tea by direct and indirect taxation? Mr Holt (L.) pointed out that it was cheaper by half to bring tea from China than from Colombo, but the Government had prohibited China tea, only British tea may be imported, even though we have to pay more. Mr. Bonar Law consented to reduce the proposed increase of the Entertainment tax so that the 2d. tax begins with the tickets costing 5d. Tickets costing more than 2d., but not exceeding 4d., tax 1d.—exceeding 4d., but not 6d., tax 2d. It had been proposed to begin the twopenny tax with 3d. tickets. We still think that these tickets, which are bought by the savings of the workers, are too highly taxed when compared with the higher priced tickets.

# THE FRANCHISE BILL

On June 26th the Franchise Bill was again considered, Mr. Timothy Davies (L.) moved to reduce the qualifying period from 6 to 3 months, but on the appeal of Mr. Hayes Fisher (U.) and Mr. Dickinson, who urged him to stand by the compromise, he consented to withdraw it.

There was a long wrangle over plural voting, the antis actually endeavouring to give more plural votes to women.

THE PAUPER DISQUALIFICATION.

Mr. Whitehouse (L.) moved an amendment intended to abolish the pauper disqualification. Sir J. D. Rees (L.), who is always opposed that reform, protested that people "living upon the public" ought not to vote the taxes. Sir J. Spear (U.), a member of the Council of the Association of Poor Law Unions, moved another amendment to abolish the pauper disqualification for Parliamentary purposed. Mr. Wardle (Lab.) supported the Amendment for Parliamentary purpose only. "For Local Government purpose," he said, "I quite agree it may be different . . . it is a question whether a person who is actually in receipt of rates should be qualified to exercise the Local Government vote."

This is a regrettably weak attitude for the leader of the Labour Party to adopt. We would point out that such considerations do not operate either in the case of Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers, or in that of Government employees, who, though in receipt of taxes, are able to exercise the Parliamentary vote. Poor people in receipt of relief greatly need the vote which is the sole means of securing that suitable people shall administer the relief. Mr. Wardle went on to say that though the Speaker's Conference had recommended that the Poor Law disqualification should only be modified in respect of those who had not received Poor Law relief for more than thirty days during the year, he would not be a party to wrecking amendments. "This is a matter on which the House surely has a right to make up its mind! The Speaker's Conference considered the matter, and its recommendation was, as far as it could agree to go. I feel sure, however, that the Speaker's Conference would have gone quite the whole length if they had felt that the House of Commons would have supported them in so doing. It is really a matter in which they made a very modest proposition, because they were afraid that they might not have the House of Commons with them. If the House of Commons says that it is anxious and willing that all this trumpery business—and after all it is a trumpery business—should be wiped out, and if we who support that clear-cut decision are unanimously agreed to wipe out the pauper disqualification altogether, I believe there is not a single member of the Speaker's Conference who would not hail with delight that decision."

We congratulate Mr. Wardle on his making "a clear-cut decision." But we wish he had made the clear-cut decision in regard to the whole franchise question and had insisted upon the complete enfranchisement of every man and woman for Parliamentary and Local Government purposes and the abolition of plural voting and the pauper disqualification in all elections.

HAYES FISHER AND AN AWFUL PUNISHMENT.

Mr Hayes Fisher agreed, on the Government's behalf, to accept Sir John Spear's Amendment, but made it plain that persons in Poor Law institutions and prisons would not be allowed to vote. He said that the pauper disqualification inflicted on men "the awful punishment to them of losing their independence and their power of voting for those who make the laws of the country." The "awful punishment" of having no vote he and his Government still intend to inflict upon the majority of women though they propose to remit it on certain conditions in the case of some women.

PAUPER DISQUALIFICATION NOT LIFTED FROM WOMEN.

Mr. Herbert Samuel then pointed out that as the Parliamentary vote is given to women who are Local Government electors or the wives of Local Government electors, women in receipt of Poor Law relief will lose their Parliamentary votes because they are thereby deprived of their Local Government votes. He said: "If she is receiving for her children Poor Law relief that woman for whom we desire the franchise will not get it." He asked whether the Government would make some provision to preserve the Parliamentary votes of such women.

This is, of course, a most important matter for working-class widows and wives of invalid husbands are obliged in enormous numbers to apply for relief for the maintenance of their families, but Mr. Hayes Fisher would give no promise to preserve the woman's vote; he merely said that the Government would consider the matter.

Write to Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Lloyd George, the local Member of Parliament, and the Labour Members demanding that a woman who has Poor Law relief or whose husband has Poor Law relief shall not lose her vote!

Mr. McNeill (U.) moved an Amendment to disfranchise the conscientious objectors. Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) opposed him, saying that Parliament was bound in honour by having exempted conscientious objectors from military service: it could not turn round now and say, "You have done this thing; you are the basest of mankind, and unfit for the franchise." He said that Mr. McNeill's speech would have justified the persecution of the early Christians and the Dutch Protestants, and might have come from any prelate or judge in the reign of Richard II. about Wycliffe. Sir George Cave (Min.) resisted the Amendment on the Government's behalf: he argued that it would not be fair to punish pacifist-men of military age and not other pacifists, including Members of Parliament. He would like to punish all pacifists. Commander Wedgwood (L.) said he was proud that his country had produced men prepareed to suffer imprisonment for conscientious reasons. Even in the days of Mary and Elizabeth the protagonists of the religion which happened to be in the ascendant had not deprived their rivals of votes. All those with any respect for the traditions of British history would vote the Amendment down with abhorrence. Something beside the justice or injustice of disfranchising people for their opinions was at stake: representative Government was on its trial; if these conscientious objectors, most of whom were Socialists or Anarchists, were deprived of their votes they would be deprived of their interest and effective action in politics; they would be driven to direct action and become "a much more dangerous element than any incidental vote would ever make them." Sir J. D. Rees, who is fond of quoting the Scriptures, asked: Who is the interpreter of the Divine Will? Heaven forbid that I should presume to interpret it, but I remember that in the Old Testament it is said: "Who is the Lord God? It is the God of Battles"; and there is a famous text in the New Testament which says: "I come not to bring peace, but a sword." Mr. Devlin interrupted: "I want to know whether this is a prayer meeting or a debating society." The Amendment was lost by 141 votes to 71.

Major Hunt (U.) moved an Amendment to disfranchise persons who have been interned or placed under military or police control. This was negatived. Sir George Cave moved an Amendment to restrict the vote to British subjects. Colonel Greeton (U.) urged that only persons of British birth should be British subjects: he complained that the Government had not yet fulfilled its promise to revise the naturalisation laws.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to bring back the old machinery of revising barristers and rival Party agents for deciding claims to vote. In the course of the discussion Mr. McNeill said that the old business would go on as before whether the Amendment were carried or not, owing to the way in which the Bill is drafted.

## FOREIGN NEWS

RUSSIANS SUPPORT GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

At a demonstration in Petrograd in favour of the liberation of Dr. Friedrich Adler, Lenin and Linowjew spoke to an audience of 20,000 people. Similar demonstrations are being held all over Russia, and many thousands of Austrian and German prisoners of war are taking part in them. Collections are taken to support the Austrian and German revolutionary movement. Dr. Adler's speech has been translated into Russian, and has produced a great impression.

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The Finance Commission of the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council has declined to ask the Provisional Government for financial support, in order that the Council may remain independent, its funds being raised by subscriptions and self-taxation of soldiers and workers. From the 3,000,000 roubles raised by the Council, 1,000,000 has been spent for gifts for the soldiers in the field.

PETROGRAD WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The "Berner Tagwacht" reports that many Petrograd factories are being moved to the provinces, ostensibly because of the shortage of food in Petrograd, but really because of the great demands of the Petrograd workers. In many factories the workers have dismissed the managers and have taken the control of the business into their hands.

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Starvation is reported from Finland.

RUSSIAN TAXATION.

The Russian Finance Commission has accepted the following reform programme to increase the income of the State:—Income has to be increased from 12 per cent. to 30 per cent.; War profits to be taxed from 70 per cent. to 90 per cent.; fortunes over 10 million roubles to be taxed from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent.

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The Russian elections are to be held on September 30th. The Russian Parliament is to meet on October 30th.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE.

According to the "Petit Parisien," the Stockholm Socialist Commission has decided to accept the Russian formula, "No annexations and no indemnities and the right of nations to decide their destiny." The Commission considers war indemnities unjustifiable, but thinks that material damage should be indemnified by those who have caused it. Five delegates agreed that the destiny of Alsace-Lorraine should be decided by the people of these countries. Five declared that Alsace-Lorraine should first be returned to France and a plebiscite be taken afterwards. The Conference agreed that the Polish question should be decided according to the wish of the Poles themselves.

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The "Berner Tagwacht," in referring to the Stockholm Conference, says:—"The desire for peace among the workers of all nations is great, and opens possibilities for international action. It is the duty of the Internationaliss of every country to act as pioneers for peace."

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The Italian Foreign Minister has replied to the Russian Note by declaring his approval of the Russian manifesto. He says that Italy does not want conquest or domination.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN HUNGARY

The Hungarian Socialist paper "Nepszawa" publishes documents showing that the Hungarian Prime Minister Tisza intended to destroy the Hungarian Labour movement by force. Machine guns and 30,000 soldiers were prepared to fight the revolutionists, but at the last moment it was decided to abandon the scheme, because the Government recognised the impossibility of destroying the revolutionary movement.

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The Austrian Prime Minister invited the German Socialist organisation to take part in the formation of the War Cabinet. The Socialists have declined, and declared their determination to work for the restoration of peace between the nations and for a new constitution.

• • • •

The French Miners' Congress in Paris has adopted resolutions blaming the Government for the numerous explosions which have taken place, demanding the suspension of military control of mines, and the establishment of three shifts of eight hours, and 50 per cent. increase of wages.

THE
## WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

**To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.**

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***Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.***

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**Hon. Secretary: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.**
**Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.**
**Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Edgar Lansbury.**
**Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.**

**Address Correspondence:—**
**Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.**
**W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.**
**"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.**
**Other Literature, Miss Bush.**

# WHAT'S ON?
## W.S.F. FIXTURES
### OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JULY 6th.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Cressall.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SATURDAY, JULY 7th.
Ford Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Bonner Lane, Old Ford Road, 3 p.m., Rev. Cheetham, Mrs. Bouvier.
SUNDAY, JULY 8th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mr. Leahy.
Hoxton Church, 12 (noon), Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Beamish.
The Grove, Stratford, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker (joint meeting with N.-C.F.).
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier and others.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
WEDNESDAY, JULY 11th.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mr. Leahy, Mrs. Walker.
FRIDAY, JULY 13th.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, JULY 14th.
Morpeth Street, Green Street, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

### INDOOR

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m. Singing Class.

PUBLIC MEETING, 400 OLD FORD ROAD.

Thursday, July 12th, 8 p.m., Public Meeting on Adult Suffrage and Proportional Representation. Speakers: Miss Margaret Hodge (of Australia), Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Walker, and Mr. J. H. Humphreys (P.R.). Chair: Mrs. Bouvier. A model Election will be held. Admission free.

BOW SOCIAL.

Social and Dance in aid of general funds, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, July 21st, 1917, 7 p.m. A short entertainment will be given by Bow and Poplar children. Songs, dancing, games. Tickets 6d. each. Refreshments.

HOXTON BRANCH.

We are holding a Social on Thursday, July 26th. Further particulars later. A Jumble Sale will be held in the middle of August. Any contributions in the way of lumber or clothes will be gratefully received at St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.1. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Hobhouse, 5s. (for blinds); Mrs. Geveen, 6d.; G. R. Cox, Esq., 6d. Collections: June 14th, 2s. 8½d.; June 21st and 28th, 2s. 6½d. Membership subs., April, May and June, 11s. 4d.

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS

WALES.

Miss S. Pankhurst will speak on Saturday, 7th, for the Ammonford and Llandebie Trades and Labour Council at Blaevan Council Schools at 7 p.m. Sunday, 8th, at 2.30 p.m., in the Public Hall, Gwann Cae-Gurwen; in the evening in the Palace Theatre, Ammonford, at 8 p.m.

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW, to-morrow, Sunday, 8.15 p.m. Speaker, Rosa Hobhouse. Discussion 9.30 p.m.

# W.S.F. BRANCHES
## LONDON

BOW.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Stevens, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3. Branch meetings first Monday in the month, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHT sales, 3,102. Miss Harriet, 1,300; Office, 556; Miss Pankhurst, 332; Mrs. Boyce, 230; Mrs. Holloway, 154; Miss Lynch, 112; Mrs. Rawlings, 100; Mrs. Greer, 100; Miss O'Brien, 90; Mrs. Bouvier, 41; Miss Price, 40; Miss Carr, 33; Miss Stephen, 24.

BROMLEY.—Hon. Secs.: Mrs. Lansbury, Mrs. Wood. 53 St. Leonard Street, Branch meetings on Mondays, 2 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 94.

CENTRAL LONDON.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.1. Branch meetings when announced. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 276.

HOXTON AND SHOREDITCH.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N. Branch meetings on Thursdays, 8.15 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 343.

ISLINGTON.—Hon. Secs.: Miss Price, Miss Isaacs, 255 Liverpool Road. DREADNOUGHT sales, 39.

KENSAL RISE.—Hon. Sec., pro tem.: Mrs. Edwards, 30 Clifford Gardens.

LEYTON.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 292.

POPLAR.—Hon. Sec.: Miss E. Lagsding, 20 Railway Street. Club nights Wednesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 732.

TIDAL BASIN.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drake, 49 Crediton Road. Branch meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 266.

SOUTH NORWOOD.—Hon. Sec.: Mr. J. W. Everett, 141 Portland Road. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 156.

ST. PANCRAS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Redgrove, B.S.P. Hall, 44 Malden Road. Branch meetings every other Wednesday, at 8 p.m.

WILLESDEN.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Sheppard, 141 Villiers Road. Branch meetings, 7.30 p.m., alternate Mondays, at B.S.P. Hall, 148-150 Villiers Road, Willesden Green, N.W. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 60.

## PROVINCES

BIRMINGHAM.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Henson, 85 Watford Road, King's Norton. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 130.

BRADFORD.—Hon. Sec.: Miss McHale, 12 Airedale College Terrace. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 130.

BRIGHOUSE.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Woodhead, Wood View, Shelf, near Halifax.

BRYNMAWR AND NANTYGLO.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hayward, Coedcae, Garn Fack.

CHESTER-LE-STREET.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Harrison, 14 Hilda Terrace, S. Pelaw.

CHOPWELL.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Bell, 62 Forth Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 60.

CORNSAY AND QUERRC.—Hon. Sec. pro tem.: Mrs. Winter, 196 High Street. Branch meeting, Mondays, at 197 High Street, Cornsay. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 150.

FERRYHILL.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Ruby Stoddart, 12 Hackworth Street, Dean Bank. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 60.

HUDDERSFIELD.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Key, Bradford Road.

HULL.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Bryan, 91 Derringham Street, Springbank. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 130.

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 360.

LEICESTER.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Helen Bakewell, 28 Macdonald Street, Bellgrave.

MANCHESTER.—Hon. Sec.: Miss F. Wassilevski, 18 Broughton Street, N. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 130.

MEDOMSLEY.—Hon. Sec.: Tom Orr, Esq., 6 Derwent Cottages, Durham. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 120.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Hon. Sec.: Mr. Nicholson, 19 Alexandra Road, North Heaton.

NELSON.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Walton, 206 Southfield Street.

PRUDHOE-ON-TYNE.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Parks, 4 Riding Terrace, Mickley Square. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 40.

PORTSMOUTH.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Clarges, 200 Westfield Road, E. Southsea. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 129.

SHEFFIELD.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Manoin, 98 Gell Street. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 253.

SOUTHAMPTON.—Hon. Secs.: Mrs. Samuel, 33 Mount Street, and (pro. tem.) Mr. Tudge, 16 Orchard Place. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 60.

YORK.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hall, 43 Lowther Street.

## SCOTLAND

GLASGOW.—Hon. Sec.: Lachlan Smith, Esq., 126 Bothwell Street.

W.S.F. SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Speaker's Class arranged by Mr. Edgar Lansbury will be held at Lincoln's Inn Fields, by kind permission of Mrs. Casey, in the first week in October. Further particulars will be announced later. Those desirous of joining should send in their names early.

## A RUSSIAN CONCERT IN WHITECHAPEL

Maria Levinskaya's Russian Amateur Folk-Song Choir, sang to a delighted audience at Wonderland, Whitechapel Road, on Sunday, July 1st. Many of those present were Russian exiles in whom the familiar music aroused an enthusiasm which stirred us all. Russian art, whether in music or in literature, usually seems to be the expression of an intolerable sadness, but on Sunday we were introduced to a new world of gaiety by such songs as "Why this noise in the Street?" in which M. Grishin was the soloist, and "Hop moi Grichaniki," a little dancing song led by MM. Chernikoff and Tourkevitch. Unfolded for us was an infinite variety of mood and melody with rhythm ever changing and growing: the pedlar shouting his wares to the peasants and calling his beloved, "Down the Mother River Volga," soloists MM. Arosha and Bronislavsky; "Stay my Darling, do not Hurry," "The Birch Tree," "Dubinushka," the lumberman's song, soloist, M. Bronislavsky, a song of home-sickness for the wide Steppes, the fair girl in the valley, and perhaps loveliest of all, "Ei Ouchnem," the song of the haulers on the Volga, which gradually fades away.

To the beauty of the music was added the rich, pleasant colouring of the peasant costumes and the sight of wonderful Maria Levinskaya, conducting with vivacity and grace. Mlle. Maroussia and Miss N. Eberhardie showed us gay and splendid Russian dances; Maria Levinskaya, Edith Abraham, and Effie Creamer played a trio of Tchaikovsky for piano violin and 'cello whilst Miss Irene Bouvier sang Rubinstein's, "The Night" and Bizet's "Sequedille" (Carmen).

In the interval Miss Sylvia Pankhurst appealed for Members of the East End Workers' Choir to which Madame Levinskaya has most kindly agreed to act as advisor. Those desirous of joining the choir should write to Mrs. Herchergova, at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

## THE AIR RAID VICTIMS

The W.S.F. has received the following letter from the Mayor of Poplar:—

On behalf of the parents of the little victims of the Air Raid and of the Mayor of the Borough, I beg to thank you sincerely for the beautiful floral tribute you sent, and for the expression of sympathy. Upwards of 500 wreaths and boxes of flowers were received here, and I am sending a full list to the parents of each child, which will enable them to see how deeply this sad event has moved all classes of men, women and children in all parts of the country.

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.**

Workers, Male and Female, Organise in the One Big Union of All Workers!

Sectional Unions don't Unite; they Divide.

The I.W.W. organises **all** Workers in each shop.

**One Class, One Struggle, One Union, One Enemy, and One Cause.**

Call or write to Secretary, at I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, E.1.

Contributions, 1s. per month. Nothing if Unemployed.
Join the **Fighting Union, the I.W.W.**

**Clippings of Material** of all kinds (must measure at least 5 by 6 inches) can be used in our Toy Factory at 45 Norman Road, Bow, E., and will be most gratefully received if friends will kindly send them.

**Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.**

**All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.**

## GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. M. B. H. Ellis, £10; Mrs. Francis E. Row, £10; L. Coleman, Esq., £5 5s.; Anon, £4; Alfred Hicks, Esq., £2 2s.; Mrs. Sabina Branch, £2; Miss Hetty Cowan, £2; Reginald R. Cowderoy, £1 1s.; L. Goodman, Esq., £1 1s.; H. B. Gladstone, Esq., £1 1s.; J. Prelooker, Esq., £1 1s.; Mrs. Palmer, £1; F. W. Shorrocks, Esq., £1; Irene, per Mrs. Drake, £1; Mrs. Grace Hyde, 10s.; Miss Marion Gibson, 10s.; Rev. C. Moxon, 10s.; Ed. Fuller, Esq., 10s.; A. Thomas, 5s.; Mr. N. Sokolov (Choir), 3s.; Rev. H. Chalmers, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Armes, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Bridges, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker (two), 11s.; Miss Lynch, 4s. 6½d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Chas Roden Buxton, Esq. (Indicator), £3; Mrs. C. E. Payne (Indicator), £1 10s.; J. Leakey, Esq. (Indicator), £1 10s.; W. Carter, Esq. (Indicator), £1 10s.; Miss Muriel Lester (Indicator), £1 10s.; Mrs. Mackenzie Kennedy (Indicator), £1 10s; Mr. Israel Zangwill (Indicator), £1 10s.; Mrs. M. E. Edwards, £1; Miss C. Bell, 14s. 8½d.; Rev. G. T. Sadler, 5s.; Dr. Scarlett Synge, 1s. 6d.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Miss Jessie Clark, 1s.; Miss Helen Lindsay, 1s.; Miss Ethel M. Davies (monthly), 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Lady Margaret Sackville, £1 1s.; Miss Bessie Lancaster, £1; Miss E. D. Butcher, £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Mr. Maurice Liverman, 5s; Mrs. Gillies, per Miss Sturgis, 4s.; Extra Profit on Crèche Social, 4s.; Mrs. Winter, 2s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Toolroom, £1 7s. 8½d.; Mrs. Canty, per Mrs. Bertram, 14s.; Miss D. Rock, 12s. 6d.; Misses E. Lagsding and L. Barker (Green's Yard), 11s. 10½d.; Miss F. Zietal, per Miss Lagsding, 10s.; Mothers at Bromley Clinic (monthly), 6s. 7d.; Misses K. Lagsding and T. Barker (Cubitt Town), 4s.; Nancy and Shiela Buxton, 3s. 6d.; Mrs. Clara G. Cole, 2s.; Milk Churn, 1s. 1d.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHES.—Mrs. White, Miss C. McEwan.

## MOTHERS AND BABIES

**The Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow.**

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

**Health Talks for Mothers** are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

WANTED.—A cupboard for the Nursery.

**20 Railway Street, Poplar.**
**(opposite South Bromley Station).**

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays and Thursdays, 2.30 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

**53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow.**

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Fridays, 10.30 a.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

**Cost Price Restaurants** at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

WANTS.

We make an earnest appeal to all friends who are able to assist us to meet the expenditure necessary for a successful Baby Week.

Funds are urgently needed for milk, Glaxo, and medicines.

Please make cheques payable to the Hon. Treasurer.

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**TO LET.**—Devon, well furnished up-to-date house. Two reception, four bedrooms, two halls, every convenience, gardens, and lovely view; bracing, restful. Two guineas weekly. "Elmo," care of this Office.

**TO LET—HALL** for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

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